

at a few other trade centres, are held for the most part by outsiders. In Cuttack town the Mārwaris, who have been settled down there for the last 40 or 50 years, trade chiefly in European piece-goods; the Bhojpuris, who deal in spices, have been in Cuttack for the last 70 years; the Telingas, who followed the Madras regiments to Cuttack, have established themselves as traders in Deccan clothes, chillies, camphor, etc.; and the Kabulis, as in other parts of Bengal, preside at stalls of dried fruits of all kinds.

Trade
routes.

The sea-borne trade of the district is carried by the steamers and sailing vessels which touch at the ports of Chāndbāli and False Point. The former of these is at the mouth of the Dhāmra in the Balasore district, but plays an important part in the trade of this district. The opening of this port about 30 years ago, and of False Point harbour in 1860, at once gave a great impetus to trade and effected quite a revolution in the whole Province. Before the establishment of these two ports, Orissa was an isolated country, but now it has become a busy centre of trade, the sea-borne trade being carried on with ports all along the coast in Bombay, Madras and Bengal, as well as with Ceylon, the Maldivé Islands, Mauritius and England.

The land-borne external trade is carried on by land with the Central Provinces, the Garjāts, Puri and Ganjām by means of carts and pack-bullocks, and during the rains by boats, while a certain amount of merchandise is sent along the Orissa Coast Canal. But the railway constitutes the chief artery of commerce; the main trade of the district is that which is carried out of it or brought into it by this route, and the other means of communication by land merely supplement its work.

The internal trade of the district is similarly carried on by the railway, and by carts, pack-bullocks and boats; it consists chiefly of cereals and pulses, country cloths, brass and bell-metal utensils, timber and firewood. Next to the railway the most important routes by land are the Tāldanda road, the Māchgaon road, the Chāndbāli road, the Grand Trunk Road, the Sambalpur road and the Ganjām road.

The routes by water are furnished by the rivers and canals which traverse all parts of the district. The Mahānadi and Brāhmani, together with their main branches, the Kātjuri, Birūpā and Kharsuā, are navigable in all seasons in their lower courses, though their upper reaches and minor branches generally contain little water during the summer. A steamer service plies on the High Level and Kendrapāra canals, while the Tāldanda canal is regularly used by boats. These highways of commerce have

now ensured a certainty of communication between Cuttack and the sea-board, and have helped most materially to develop its trade. The whole district is moreover intersected by a network of channels and creeks, all of which are navigable by country boats during the rains and some throughout the year. With the district and village roads, they form important factors in opening out the more remote villages, so that there is generally some means of communication between them and the trade marts of the district.

The chief centres of trade are situated along the rivers and canals, or are in the neighbourhood of flourishing villages. The most important markets for rice, the chief article of commerce, are False Point, Jambu, Bhutmundi, Cuttack, Māsāghai, Alba, Kenduapatnā, and Bāraboriā, and the most important places of supply are Cuttack, Kendrapāra, Jājpur, Aul, Patāmundaī, and Baideswar. Rice is carried chiefly to Calcutta by the railway or by steamer *via* Chāndbāli, the traffic being mostly in the hands of the India General Steam Navigation Company, which maintains a regular service of steamers from Calcutta. A portion of it is also carried to False Point in boats and along the Orissa Coast Canal in steamers.

Besides these, there are numerous minor markets or *hāts* all over the district, numbering about one hundred and fifty, which are held every week on certain fixed days for the sale of the ordinary articles of consumption and of every-day use. The most important of these are Ichāpur, Barhāt, Mahipāl, Thākurhāt, Chāndla, Mahalhāt, Pandālo, Pailo Antoi, Pasai, Keshpur, Chandanagar, Rājnagar, Kerapur, Ganjā, Olābhar, Talsangā and Nikrai in the Kendrapāra sub-division; Gandkul, Katrā, Bilhāt, Tānghī, Champāpur, Nisebintkoilo, Nialī and Kuhunda in the Sadar subdivision; and Binjhārpur, Kaiparā, Haripur, Katikātā, and Kayāngolā in the Jājpur sub-division. Almost all the trade of the interior may be said to be carried on in these markets. People flock in from great distances to buy stores for the week's consumption, and in many cases the *hāts* form the sole source from which the villagers can obtain the necessaries of life.

Shops are very rare in small villages, and are generally of a very primitive kind, unable to supply a single family with provisions for a week, and totally unequal to meeting the wants of a village.

fairs are also held in different parts of the district in connection with the religious festivals. Some of these last for a day, others for a week, ten days, or even a month. Some of the petty fairs have no influence whatever on trade, but the principal *jātrās*,

such as the Paus Sankrānti *jātrā* in *pargana* Kātiā, the Salanuni annual fair in Sargarā, the Mahāvināyaka *melā* in Darpan, the Charak Sankrānti *jātrā* in Madhupur, the Gundichā *jātrā* in Tikan, the Asokāshatami *jātrā* in Jājpur, attract many shop-keepers and merchants from Balasore, Bhadrakh and the Garjāts, as well as from the more important centres of trade in the district itself.

Weights
and
measures.

Cuttack has a peculiar system of weights and measures. The maund of 40 seers is recognized, but the Balasore seer of 80 *tolās* is used for weighing imported goods, and the Cuttack seer of 105 *tolās* for indigenous goods. These seers are regarded as standard weights and are used in the municipalities and the principal market-places in the interior, though not to the exclusion of other weights. In rural areas, however, the seer and chittack are hardly understood, the weights in common use being the *pal*, *bisā* and *pasuri*, and for grain measure the *gauni*. The *pal* is equivalent to 6 *tolās*, but the *bisā* ranges from 18 to 30 *pals*, i.e., from 108 to 180 *tolās*, according to locality and the commodity weighed. No *bisā* corresponds, therefore, to the Cuttack seer of 105 *tolās*. In some places the people realize the disadvantages of this and calculate the *pal* at 5 instead of 6 *tolās*, so that their *bisā* of 18 *pals* may approximate the Cuttack seer. The *gauni* again varies from 1½ seer to 7 seers according to locality. It is a basket, and not only does it give wrong measure by losing its shape, but there is a buying and a selling *gāuni*, the former being of course the larger; and it can be manipulated during measurement, e.g., by pressing, heaping up and filling loosely. There is thus room for unlimited fraud, and the extent of the evil may be realized when it is remembered that the *gauni* is the universal measure for weighing paddy throughout rural areas. The *pasuri* is equal to 3 *bisās*, and the weight in *tolās* therefore varies according to the weight of the different *bisās* used. In the Jājpur sub-division two special weights are said to be used, viz., the *gar* and *muthā*, which are 24 and 27 *pals* respectively.

Among measures the commonest is the *gauni* mentioned above. Other measures are the *petal* (1 seer 6 chittacks), used for measuring mustard, linseed, etc., the *pāhili* (ordinarily = 1 seer 1 chittack), used for weighing parched grain, etc., the *arhā*, for molasses, which generally = 80 *tolās* in capacity, while country *pā* cloth is measured by the *hāth* or cubit, which varies from 18 to 24 inches.

con-
ies on
a canal

re

CHAPTER X.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

WHEN the British conquered the district in 1803, it was practically isolated from the rest of India, and there was but little internal communication. In spite of the long sea face, few vessels ventured to put in at the surf-beaten coast, and no measures were taken to survey the harbours or ascertain the capabilities of its estuaries. Traffic along the rivers, then as now, was rendered difficult by the enormous volume of water they bring down in the rains and by the fact that in the dry season they dwindle in their upper reaches to small streams running through broad sandy beds. In addition, however, to the natural difficulties of the river route, the vexatious imposts and transit-dues of the Marāthās, as well as the black-mail which they levied, made it impossible for the boatmen to ply their trade with any profit, and these natural channels were practically unused. Throughout the district there was not a road, in the modern sense of the word, in existence. What were then called roads were mere fair-weather cart-tracks, without bridges and without proper ferry arrangements for crossing the numerous water-courses which they intercepted; and the pilgrims to Puri, who are now quickly transported there by the railway, were forced to follow the dangerous route through Nilgiri and Mayūrbhanj, which in many places passed through dense jungles infested by tigers and other wild animals.

DEVELOP-
MENT OF
COMMUNI-
CATIONS.

The first step taken to remedy this state of affairs was the construction of the great Orissa Trunk Road, which was sanctioned in 1811 and completed in 1825. It was not metalled, however, and in 1854 Mr. Ricketts found it in exactly the same state as when he saw it 25 years previously. "It has not improved in any respect," he wrote, "it is the same long heap of mud and clay, always next to impassable for any wheeled vehicles, except for the high-wheeled Cuttack hackeries, and for many months of the year impassable even for them. In some parts, where the soil is sandy, foot-passengers do not suffer much inconvenience at any time of the year; but across the many low plains where the soil is clayey, the difficulty of making any

The Orissa
Trunk
Road.

progress in wet weather can hardly be exaggerated. I have myself been nine hours going ten miles."

The condition of Orissa in 1866.

The terrible deficiency of communications which still existed as late as 1866 was made apparent in the great Orissa famine, when "the people were shut in between pathless jungles and impracticable seas, and were like passengers in a ship without provisions." The state of affairs at that time was graphically described by the Famine Commissioners of 1867 as follows:—"The whole province is geographically isolated to an excessive degree. To the north and north-west the hill tracts merge into countries more hilly, wild and inaccessible, by which they are separated effectually from Central and Northern India. There is a precarious traffic with Sambalpur by boats of a peculiar construction, which navigate the difficult river Mahānadi in the rainy season and for a month or two after; for the rest of the year this communication is closed. On the other side, the nature of the coast and the sea is such as effectually to stop all native traffic for the major part of the year. With one exception—False Point—there is no protected anchorage of any kind, and that exception may be said to be in some sense almost a recent discovery. Such being the difficulties on either side of the length of Orissa, the only ordinary mode of communication with the outside world is by the route traversing its length. That, however, is so much intersected by the streams already mentioned, and has been hitherto so little rendered practicable by art, that it is comparatively little used by wheeled carriages; pack-bullocks still predominate at all times; in the rainy season wheeled traffic is quite impracticable; and when the rains are heavy, even pack-bullocks cannot be used. At this day the European officer who cannot obtain a special steamer must find his way into Orissa slowly and tediously, as ancient officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka, and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack."

Subsequent measures.

This calamity directed attention to the state of all the Orissa districts, and measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, roads being opened up, the coast surveyed, and canals constructed. The communication with the outside world, which was thus established, effectually broke in upon the isolation of Orissa, and more recently the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway has extended its system through the district. It is now amply provided with means of communication by the railway and an extensive system of roads and canals. The railway passing through it from north to south connects it with Calcutta on the one hand and Madras on the other; the roads place every part within easy reach of the markets; and a network of canals and distributaries covers the whole country.

WATER
COMMUNI-
CATIONS.
Harbours.

As early as the 17th century Cuttack was reached by the circuitous route from the Dhāmra river *via* Patāmundai, up to which place sloops and brigs were able to come with Government and other stores; and Harispurgarh at the mouth of the Patnā appears to have been a place of resort for coasting vessels. It was here that the English landed when they first advanced from Masulipatam to Orissa in 1633; it then possessed a fair anchorage, boasted a custom-house, and was described as "a place of good strength with whom our merchants hold commerce with correspondence." The harbour is now sand-barred, and even in Ralph Cartwright's time the river could only be ascended in small boats for some 8 miles as far as Kosida; but the old name of the mouth of the Patuā, Boita-kuliya or ship-haven, is significant of its former importance. Soon after the occupation of Orissa, the English made attempts to improve and extend the communications by sea. In 1811 a Master-Attendant was appointed at Mānik-patnā in the Puri district, and a Deputy Master-Attendant was posted to Dhāmra. The light-house at False Point was commenced eight years later, and after almost insuperable difficulties had been overcome, the building was finished and the first light lit in 1826. The advantages of False Point as a harbour and port were not discovered, however, till a much later date. During the first half of the 19th century, this anchorage was little known, and almost unused. Although but two days by steamboat from Calcutta, no regular communication existed; no important trade was carried on; and the exports, consisting chiefly of rice, were entirely in the hands of a few native shipmasters from the Madras coast. A traveller landing at False Point found himself as far from Cuttack as if he had never started from Calcutta, while its isolated and jungly situation, and the long, tedious boat-route inland, through dense forests and across malarious swamps, rendered it impracticable for goods or passenger traffic.

About 1862 the newly-started East Indian Irrigation Company perceived its capabilities for the importation of stores, and an enterprising French firm in Calcutta shortly afterwards established an agency for the export of rice. But for several years the arguments against adopting it as a harbour seemed to be irresistible, as it was represented to be a fever-stricken, jungle-buried creek, several days' journey from any large town and with scarcely a practicable channel inland. Colonel Rundall, however, after a careful investigation insisted on its capabilities, and the history of the famine of 1866 proved him to be right. During that year, when Government was anxiously exploring every means of throwing supplies into the Province, False Point harbour formed

the main entrance by which food was brought in. The Famine Commissioners reported that it was the best harbour on the whole Indian peninsula between the Hooghly and Bombay, and strongly urged its claims upon Government. The harbour was re-surveyed and deepened, the channels were clearly buoyed off, and it was connected with Cuttack by means of the Kendrapāra canal. It was confidently expected that False Point would grow into an important harbour and form the entrepôt for the import and export trade of Orissa. A scheme was put forward in 1875 for the improvement of the port at a cost of Rs. 2,33,000; it was suggested that Port Commissioners should be appointed; and the matter proceeded so far that the Bengal Government moved the Government of India to extend the provisions of the Indian Ports Act to False Point. In the next year, however, the Superintendent of Marine Surveys deprecated any large expenditure on the port, and the event has shewn the wisdom of his recommendation. The expectations that False Point would be the great port of Orissa have not been realized; Chāndbāli has become the port for the Calcutta trade, and False Point only serves Orissa for the trade in rice to Mauritius, Colombo and the west coast ports. It is now a port of call for coasting vessels, though large cargo steamers put in at irregular intervals.

Rivers.

At first sight it would appear that the great rivers which issue from the western hills and then pour into the sea after traversing Cuttack, should afford a magnificent highway for the products of Central India. The anicuts constructed across them have however cut off direct communication between the lower and upper reaches; during the rains they become dangerous for navigation owing to the high floods they bring down, and during the rest of the year the current is sluggish and the volume of water small. Even in the greatest of these rivers, the Mahānadi, numerous sand-banks obstruct the channel in the dry season, and the boatmen are frequently obliged to dig out narrow channels to allow their craft to pass. In spite, however, of these obstacles, there is uninterrupted communication from above the anicut at Cuttack as far as Sambalpur, though the traffic has been diminishing since the latter district has been opened up by railway. There is some traffic on the upper waters of the Brāhmani, but the jagged rocks which in places stud the stream render it dangerous for large boats. Both this river and the Baitarani almost dry up during the hot weather in their upper reaches, and the small depth of water only allows small boats to ply along them. On the other hand, all the rivers have sufficient water to enable boats to pass and repass further down their course, and there is a fair amount of traffic in the

lower tidal reaches. With this exception, they are on the whole either too shallow or too uncertain to be very largely used, and they do not possess any great value as trade routes.

The District Board controls 43 ferries, of which the most important is that across the Baitarani at Chāndbāli. Passengers are charged small fees, and the right of collecting these is sold by auction, all the ferries being leased out annually to the highest bidders.

For the reasons mentioned above, but little use is made of the rivers as highways, in spite of the canals which take off from them and provide communication with the sea-coast. The use of boats has, accordingly, been restricted from time immemorial, and the people have always been accustomed to carry the internal traffic of the country along the roads by means of pack-bullocks and carts. They were thus neither sufficiently accustomed to navigation nor prepared to utilize the canals when they were opened; and these waterways have consequently never been used very extensively. The Kendrāpāra and Gobri Extension canals connect Cuttack with the Brahmanī at Alba, and from there vessels go down the river to Chāndbāli, where the cargo is transhipped and carried by steamer to Calcutta. The High Level canal supplies a direct route between the marts of Cuttack and Bhadrakh, and the Taldanda canal between the Mahānadi and Kātjuri rivers links up Cuttack with False Point. This canal is used by boats, and there is a regular steamer service along the other canals, as steamers carrying passengers and goods ply three days a week between Cuttack and Chāndbāli. The Gobri and Jajpur canals are also important navigable channels; and there are in all 210 miles of canals used for navigation. The total tonnage of the boats using them in 1903-04 was 256,672 tons and the value of their cargoes, excluding rafts, was Rs. 70,79,162.

The volume of traffic on the canals has, however, never been very large, and the trade passing along them has now diminished owing to the competition of the railway. The line of the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway which passes through the district was opened in 1899. It connects Cuttack directly with Madras and Calcutta, and the stations are so placed that they receive all the grain now brought into the head-quarters town and all that is imported from the Tributary States. The finest pieces of engineering work on the line are to be seen near Cuttack; to the north of the town a great bridge has been built over the Mahānadi of girders laid on massive masonry piers, while to the south, where the iron road has been carried over the wide stretches of sand and water extending between this station and Barang, one of the most difficult

pieces of riverine engineering to be seen anywhere in India has been successfully carried out.

ROADS.

From the account given above, it will be seen that Cuttack long continued practically roadless even after the British occupation, and that the roads are a creation of the last half century. The district is now very well supplied with these means of internal communication. Some areas are, however, still very difficult of access, such as the *parganas* of Benahar and Khandi and the strip of country between the Taldanda and Kendrapāra canals; while in other parts many villages are only accessible by pack-bullocks, and others again can only be reached by boats in the rainy season. This however is only a natural incidence of a deltaic country, where the large rivers intersecting the plains make the construction and maintenance of roads a matter of great difficulty. In spite of these difficulties, there has been a great advance since the great Orissa famine; and there are now 91 miles of Provincial roads maintained by the Public Works Department, 75 miles being metalled, and 16 miles unmetalled, while the District Board maintains 34 miles of metalled and 335 miles of unmetalled roads, besides a number of village tracks with a total length of 445 miles.

Provincial roads.

The most important of the Provincial roads is the Orissa Trunk Road, a great highway running from Midnapore to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency. Begun soon after the British occupation, it took the place of the old pilgrim road which had replaced the former route through Nilgiri and Mayūrbhanj: traces of this pilgrim road are yet visible in ruined but massive bridges, in the Hindu style of architecture, standing in solitude over streams where there is neither road nor traffic. The road was carried as much as possible along the old line and through waste land and jungle; the bridges were built almost entirely of stone taken from the ruined forts and temples in which the Province then abounded; and it was completed as far as Bhadrakh about 1819. It enters the district at Akshuāpadā 46 miles from Cuttack, and, skirting the western hills, it runs along the High Level canal as far as that town, and then divides into two, the Cuttack-Puri road, generally known as the Jagannāth road, and the Cuttack-Ganjam road. It is raised and metalled throughout, and there are ferries across the Baitarani, Kharsuā, Brāhmaṇi and Mahānadi rivers.

There are two other Provincial roads, the Cuttack-Sonpur road running along the valley of the Mahānadi through Bānki into the Sonpur State and the Cuttack-Sambalpur road also passing up the Mahānadi valley through Athgarh, which brings down the traffic of the Garjāts.

The principal District Board roads are:—(1) The Cuttack-Chāndbāli road, 63 miles long, which connects Cuttack with the important port of Chāndbāli. It runs along the Kendrāpara canal to Kendrāpara and then strikes north-east to Patāmundaī; after this, crossing the Brāhmanī, it goes due north to Aul, and leaving that place continues its north-easterly course across the Kharsuā as far as Chāndbāli. (2) The Cuttack-Tāldanda road, 44 miles long, of which 14 are metalled, running along the southern bank of the Mahānadi, and forming, with the Tāldanda canal, the principal route between Cuttack and False Point. (3) The Kandalpur-Māchgaon road, which takes off from the last road at the 11th mile and reaches Māchgaon after completing a course of 32 miles. Like the Cuttack-Tāldanda road, it is an important trade-route and carries a heavy traffic in grain. (4) The Phulnākhra-Mādhāb road, 25 miles long, which is carried along the border of the district from the 10th mile of the Puri road to Mādhāb and then on to Puri.

Besides these, there are a number of cross roads connecting the main roads; and since the construction of the railway the District Board have opened feeder roads wherever they were necessary to connect the stations on the railway with the interior of the district. That body has also taken steps to extend the existing village roads and to add to their number: the task is however difficult, as the villagers are always apt to encroach on them and to divert old roads to suit their convenience. The District Board has done much to improve this state of affairs, but in spite of its activity there are still many places where there are no village roads at all, and often the villagers can only cross the country by wading through creeks infested by alligators.

The district is very well supplied with staging and inspection bungalows. There are bungalows at every stage (about 10 miles) along all the Provincial roads, the four principal District Board roads mentioned above, and the canals, as well as at Beruan and other central positions.

The cart in universal use is somewhat peculiar in shape. Two poles of *sāl* wood or bamboo about 12 feet long, tied together at one end and about three feet apart at the other, are joined by cross bars at intervals, and this framework rests on a pair of wheels about four feet high and four feet apart. The bullocks are yoked one on each side of the narrow end and will drag half a ton 15 or 20 miles a day on a metalled road. For carrying grain a long coffin-shaped basket of split bamboo called an *odaro*, which will hold about 10 maunds, is fitted on to the cart. In some parts of the district, carts called *khaorahs* are common; these have no

wheels, and the framework inclines from the yoke of the bullocks right down to the ground at the back. From the Garjāts come heavy buffalo carts, shorter and broader in make, with low wheels of solid wood; and with the advent of the railway the light little Madras hackeries drawn by a single bullock have become common in Cuttack town.

POSTAL
COMMUNI-
CATION.

The district contains 66 post-offices, 15 telegraph-offices, and 887 miles of postal communication.

CHAPTER XI.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

THE early Hindu rulers of Orissa recognized no middlemen between them and their subjects, and every cultivator was in theory bound to pay to his sovereign a share, estimated at from one-twelfth to one-fourth, of the gross produce of his land. The nominal proportion was one-sixth at the outside, but in fact was often more. The residents of each village paid their quota through a headman (*padhān*) who, in consideration of the services he rendered in collecting the revenue, was allowed to hold free of all payment a certain share, not exceeding one-twentieth, of the total land under cultivation, and probably also retained some part of his collections as a perquisite of his office. The village accounts were checked by the accountant (*bhoi*), who was also paid by the grant of a few acres free of assessment. These villages were grouped into large divisions (*khand* or *bisi*) of 10 to 50 square miles, the prototype of the modern *pargana*, many of which are still known by their old Hindu names, such as the Nāhākhand and Derābisi *parganas*. Over each of these divisions was an executive officer called *khandpati*, who acted as the representative of the sovereign, and with the assistance of the divisional accountant (*bhoimāl* or *bishayā*) collected the revenue, and handed it on to the head of the district or *desādhipati*.

HINDU
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

This was the system in the regulation provinces of the Hindu kingdom, but along the hill borders and on the scantily-populated littoral the land was held by military chiefs who paid a tribute to their suzerain, and were independent as regards the internal administration of their properties.

The first regular settlement of Orissa was begun in A.D. 1582 by Akbar's victorious general Todar Mal and was concluded in 1591 by Rājā Mān Singh: this settlement is given in *Ain-i-Akbari* as 17 lakhs of rupees for the whole of that Province. For the most part the border chieftains were left untouched; but in the central and most highly-cultivated portions of the district a detailed settlement was made, and the rates of rents in every

MUHAM-
MADAN
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

village were fixed. The hereditary Hindu officials of the *pargana* (*khand* or *bisi*) were confirmed in possession, the *khandpatis* and *bhoimāls* becoming *chaudhris* and *kānungos*, and being entrusted with the collection of revenue and vested with the other rights and liabilities of zamīndārs for the portion of the *pargana* or *taluk* under their direct management. The village headmen were maintained under the appellation of *mukaddam*, an Arabic word meaning headman, their customary right to hold one acre in twenty free of assessment being commuted to a grant of a definite quantity of land as *jāgir*. Where there were no hereditary headmen or where the *padhān* had been dispossessed, collections were often made through an agent (*kārji*) or farmer (*sarbarāhkār* or *mustājir*) appointed by the *talukdār*, and many of these developed into hereditary tenure-holders with rights almost equal to those of the *mukaddams*.

The *talukdārs* were remunerated by grants of land (*nānkar*) given for their support, and by deductions of 5 per cent. from the gross collections of the villages in their charge, as well as by permission to collect what they could in the form of octroi, market-dues and other extras. The land-owners got a deduction of 10 per cent., besides one-twentieth on the total collections in the form of rent-free land. Nominally one-twentieth was the customary deduction, but it was probably greater in the case of zamīndārs than in that of *chaudhris*, and was less still for the *kānungos*. For the supervision of these land-holders Rājā Mān Singh grouped the *parganas* into three *sarkārs*, Cuttack, Bhadrakh and Juleswar, each being placed in charge of a chief executive officer called an *āmil* and of a checking revenue officer or Sadar *kānungo* with several subordinate collecting agents (*gumashtās*), who were paid originally by a percentage on the collections.

The *talukdārs* and superior officers were nominally appointed by the sovereign or his representative, and were so far officials that they acted jointly in making or sanctioning alienations and assignments of the land or its revenues, and could be removed from their office for bad conduct; but under the two centuries of misrule and revolt that followed Akbar's reign, their hold on the land grew stronger, and the right to appoint lapsed into a purely formal custom of confirming the heir of the deceased official; even the *āmil* and the Sadar *kānungo* came to hold large estates, stepping into the shoes of dispossessed *talukdārs*, for whom they stood security. Their office was abolished by the Marāthās, who appointed *āmils* and Sadar *kānungos* of their own, and at the time of the British conquest these ex-officials were found only as holders of large and valuable estates.

Besides the *talukdars*, there were also a few land-holders in possession of whole *parganas*. They alone were officially styled dependent Hindu *sardars* or zamindars, and were generally either descendants of the old reigning princes, as in the case of the zamindar of Utikan, who was the Rājā of Kanikā, and the zamindar of Saibir, who was the Rājā of Patiya, or were border chiefs (*khandait* or *bhuiyā*), such as those of Darpan and Madhupur. Besides these two classes, a good many superior officials were appointed zamindars in return for special services, and it appears that the Marāthās recognized sixteen of these zamindars in the Cuttack district. Like the *talukdars*, they all held under deeds of appointment, and though their position was more honourable, their rights and liabilities did not in any way differ from those of the *pargana* officials.

In 1742 occurred the first invasion of the Marāthās, and from 1751 Orissa became a Marāthā Province under the management of a Sūbahdar. The new conquerors made in theory no change in the fiscal organization, but recognized the people whom they found in possession of the land without asking inconvenient questions. Orissa, the most peaceful part of their dominions, they regarded solely as a source of revenue, and to this end appointed 32 *āmils* to look after the collections, with distraint officers under them, who squeezed the uttermost farthing out of the people. Defaulting *talukdars* they unhesitatingly dispossessed, and where they found a village headman strong enough to be independent of the *pargana* official, they allowed him to pay his revenue direct into the treasury. To some extent this had been the practice in the later days of the Mughal rule, when numerous independent estates were created by grants to Ministers of State or for the maintenance of the Nawāb's household. These estates consisted generally of numerous small parcels of land in different villages—an arrangement which was inconvenient in many ways, but was perhaps intended to give these officials an interest in touring or to provide them with a foothold in the different villages. The accounts were kept separately as direct collections (*hazurtahsil*), and were credited to the support of special departments. To the category of petty separate revenue units were subsequently added the alienated estates known as *kharidāgi*, i.e., purchased estates and the resumed *jāgirs* of torch-bearers (*masakhi*) or yeomanry (*dograi*); while, as already mentioned, the Marāthās also accepted direct payment from many village headmen. All these estates were known as *mazkuri*, i.e., specified in the rent-roll, and their holders were treated as having exactly the same rights as *talukdars*, though the position they held was one of less dignity.

MAHATHA
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

During the fifty years of Marāthā rule, the position of the cultivator and payer of revenue (*mālguzār*) was one of extreme difficulty. Farming leases of estates were put up to auction in Nāgpur and were bought sometimes by two or three persons, all of whom came to Orissa and tried to levy what they could, the purchasers, who were known as *āsāmis*, being responsible for the collection of revenue. The Marāthā demands knew no limit, default in payments subjected the *talukdārs* to dispossession, imprisonment and fine, and, when all other means failed, the Marāthā cavalry harried the country and plundered the villages. The *talukdārs*, when pressed, retaliated on the people by levying extraordinary cesses and so-called voluntary contributions, and their exactions were only limited by the fear of driving the tenantry to abandon their villages and leave the land uncultivated. When the Marāthā cavalry appeared, the villagers would fly to the woods driving their cattle before them, only to return when the troops had retired; but sometimes a border zamindār was strong enough to meet force with force and beat back the invader, or at least compel him to accept reasonable terms.

Along the sea coast, however, and in the mountainous regions on the west known as the Rājwāra, the old organization survived unchanged. This tract included the territories of some of the feudal chieftains who ruled over the barbarous races of the hills and the lands assigned in Todar Mal's and Rājā Mān Singh's settlements to the descendants of the Hindu kings. Many petty Rājās along the coast were reduced to the position of ordinary zamindārs, but to the last the hill chieftains resisted even the Marāthās with some success. They were periodically plundered, but it was only by a considerable show of force that the Marāthās could compel payment, and amidst the inhospitable wilds and forests the horsemen were at a disadvantage and were as often defeated as victorious.

With all their extortion the Marāthās appear to have collected annually about 11 to 12 lakhs of rupees from the Province, which is less than the estimated revenue of the Mughals; but this was the natural result of the rapacity of the conquerors, which defeated itself by discouraging thrift and throwing large areas out of cultivation.

All that can be definitely said of these early settlements of the Province would appear to be that, while the Mughals made some attempt to proportion the revenue to the assets of the country, the Marāthās wrung out of it all they could, irregularly and ruthlessly, with the result that, when we first approached the question of its settlement in 1803, the Province was found much impoverished and in a state of anarchy. The British Commissioners

determined to cancel all balances outstanding from the demands of former years and to base the demand for the current year on the receipts for previous payments after making suitable deductions on account of *abwabs*, excessive assessments and the sums collected in advance by the Marāthās. In 1804 they issued instructions for making the first regular settlement of the Province, which were subsequently embodied in Regulation XII of 1805. It was to be for one year only, 1804-05, and was to be followed by a triennial settlement. One of the most important objects in view was to bring deserted villages into cultivation. As the Marāthās and their predecessors had based their demands on the amount of land actually under the plough, without reference to the amount of cultivable land in each village, very little encouragement had hitherto been held out to cultivators and proprietors to increase the cultivated area. The Oriyā ryot, whose poverty was his only protection against robbery, extortion and oppression, cared only to grow sufficient rice to support himself and his family for the year. Liberal terms, therefore, were to be offered to those who would bring waste lands under cultivation, but the engaging parties were to be bound, in the most positive manner, and under a severe penalty, not to bring or entice ryots from lands already cultivated, but to collect their ryots from without the Company's territories. That such a proviso should be necessary shows the wretched state of the Province under Marāthā oppression and misrule, which forced the home-loving Oriyās to forsake their hereditary fields and take refuge in the wild tracts in the hills.

This settlement was concluded early in 1805 and was followed by a number of temporary settlements. A triennial settlement was first concluded, and then in 1808-09 another settlement was made for one year, which was afterwards continued for a further period of three years. Other settlements followed in quick succession—in 1812-13, for one year; in 1813-14, for two years; in 1815-16, for one year; in 1816-17, for three years; in 1819-20, for three years; and in 1822-23, for five years. The history of these early settlements is an unfortunate record of assessment on insufficient enquiry and of the enforcement of inelastic rules for the realization of inequitable revenues; many an old Oriyā family was ruined, and the proprietorship of the land fell, in many cases, into the hands of Bengali speculators. In 1804-05 the assessment for the district was Rs. 4,43,000, and the triennial assessment of 1805-08 brought in an increase of two lakhs, which was, however, made with very little reason. The Collector had no information as to the real assets of the

Early
settle-
ments.

estates, for the zamindars and *amils* combined to withhold all papers, and he had to proceed on a very rough estimate of the quantity of land in cultivation and on the reports of interested subordinates. Arrears accumulated rapidly; and in 1806 began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Calcutta, a policy which proved the ruin of many old families and allowed Bengali speculators to buy valuable properties at low prices. By 1816 the demand had risen to over 7 lakhs with but little justification for the increase either in the spread of cultivation or the circumstances of the people. They were disheartened at the constant alterations of the revenue, and many left their estates to be held by the Collector, who in his turn either managed them through *tahsildars*, who embezzled as much as they could, or farmed them out to speculators, who rack-rented the ryots. A large portion of the revenue assessed could not be collected, the hardships of our revenue system were aggravated by repeated droughts, and the amount realized fell to 65 per cent. of the demand.

The
Khurdā
rebellion.

At last, in 1817, the people, driven to desperation by mismanagement, broke out in what is known as the Khurdā rebellion, when the *paiks*, or landed militia, rose in open revolt against the oppression they suffered at the hands of the underlings to whom was entrusted the collection of the revenue and against the tyrannies of a venal police. The rebellion was quickly stamped out, but it served to bring home to the authorities the deep discontent and real grievances of the Oriyās; and in Regulation VII of 1822 Government shortly afterwards proclaimed its intention of concluding a settlement after making a detailed investigation into the circumstances of the Province.

THE
SETTLE-
MENT OF
1837.

The foundations of the present prosperity of Orissa rest on the great settlement of 1835 to 1845. Preparations for this settlement were commenced as early as 1830, and it was held to run from 1837, although the proceedings were not finally completed before 1845. Taught by the mistakes of their predecessors, the Settlement Officers toiled with marked industry and ability to master every difficulty that stood in the way of a fair assessment, and to store up and tabulate the detailed information, as to the material condition and economic circumstances of the country, without which no successful settlement can be made. Their efforts were cordially supported by the authorities in Calcutta, and their reward has been the unquestionable success of the settlement, the implicit confidence of the people in the records prepared by them, and the endurance of their names as household words throughout the districts in which they laboured. The operations cost upwards of 20 lakhs, and the result was an

increase of revenue of only Rs. 34,980 for all three districts. In Cuttack it was found that the cultivated area dealt with amounted to 697,000 acres, of which 621,000 acres were assessed. The demand was fixed at Rs. 7,14,100, the incidence of revenue being Re. 1-2-5 per acre; and the balance of the assets left to the zamindars was Rs. 4,06,900.

The settlement thus concluded was made for 30 years and expired in the year 1867, but the great Orissa famine of the year 1865-66 rendered it inadvisable to undertake resettlement operations when the former settlement was drawing to a close, and that settlement was accordingly prolonged for another thirty years. The history of the rapid recovery of the Province from the horrors of the great famine has subsequently shown that this extreme leniency was scarcely needed, and that a resettlement might well have been made some twenty-five years ago to the advantage of Government and without undue harassment of the people. The result of the excessive prolongation of the former settlement has undoubtedly been the exclusion of Government for a lengthy period from its fair share of the produce of the soil, and the retention by the landlord classes in Orissa during the same period of profits to which they had no equitable right. During the sixty years of the currency of the settlement of 1837, the district developed in every direction in spite of the disaster of 1866; cultivation extended by nearly a third; communications were largely improved, bringing an increase in the volume of trade; and the prices of staple food-crops were trebled, securing largely increased profits to the cultivators.

The last settlement of the Province was a work of great magnitude; the operations extended over a period of 10 years, from the end of 1889 to the end of 1899, and over an area of 5,000 square miles; rents were settled for a million and a half of tenants, and the Government revenue on nearly six and-a-half thousand estates. In this district the cost of the settlement was Rs. 766 per square mile, the area assessed was 822,500 acres, and the revenue fixed was Rs. 10,99,300, giving an incidence of Re. 1-5-5 per acre. The settled assets were Rs. 20,72,900, and the actual percentage of the assets taken as revenue thus amounts to 53 per cent., or 11 per cent. less than it was at the preceding settlement. The enhancement made in the land revenue was as much as 54 per cent., but even so it was materially less than was anticipated, and a considerable portion of the enhanced revenue was relinquished by the progressive introduction of the new assessment in the case of estates of which the liabilities were largely enhanced.

SETTLEMENT OF
1897.

Among other changes which took place in the course of the last settlement was the multiplication of estates and landlords to an enormous extent, the number of recorded proprietors rising from 5,400 to 31,900. The lands in the direct possession of the landlords increased proportionately, the area (85,800 acres) held by them being a little more than double that existing at the previous settlement and the valuation having risen from Rs. 75,400 to Rs. 2,23,200. This very marked increase in the area and value of the lands held direct by the proprietors was by no means the only benefit obtained by them during the currency of the settlement, as the incidence of *pāhi* rents rose from Re. 1-14-6 to Rs. 2-11-6. The extent to which the landlords were able to absorb the increasing profits of cultivation during the term of the settlement is shown by the wide difference between the financial position of the proprietors and proprietary tenure-holders at the commencement of the last settlement and at the time when the resettlement operations were initiated. At the beginning of the settlement of 1837, the income of the proprietors, after the payment of land revenue, was Rs. 4,06,900, or 30 per cent. of the assets, and of the proprietary tenure-holders Rs. 25,868, or 20 per cent. of the assets. The assets of the proprietors before the resettlement of 1897 were Rs. 18,47,400 and of the proprietary tenure-holders Rs. 2,04,434, whereas the revenue they paid was only Rs. 7,14,100 and Rs. 1,02,741, so that they actually retained 61 and 49 per cent. respectively of the existing assets.

The moderation of the enhancement is shown by the result of the resettlement on the total income of the zamīndārs. This amounted to Rs. 11,33,000 before the settlement and was reduced to Rs. 9,73,600 after it, or in other words by 14 per cent. As already stated, however, the zamīndārs received an income of Rs. 4,06,900 at the conclusion of the previous settlement; so that, while the revenue has been enhanced by 54 per cent., the income of the zamīndārs has increased by 139 per cent. Where the rise in revenue has been large, the enhancement has been graduated over periods extending to 10 years, and even in 1908, when the demand of revenue will be paid in full, the proprietors' income will still be 134 per cent. higher than in 1845, without taking into account any increase by enhancement of rents of non-occupancy ryots or by assessment of any new cultivation which may be added to their profits in the meanwhile. It may reasonably be held, too, that the large expenditure which the State annually incurs in maintaining the canals and flood embankments enhances its claims to land revenue, the canal system alone entailing upon Government a net annual expenditure of about 10 lakhs of

rupees, a sum equivalent to nearly half the revised land revenue of the three districts.

The preceding account will show that the revenue system of Orissa differs from that of the rest of Bengal proper, inasmuch as the settlement for the Government land revenue is not of a fixed and permanent character, but is made for a term of years only, subject to an increased assessment at the end of every fresh period. This system obtains in the greater portion of the district, but a certain number of estates are permanently settled. When the English conquered the Province, they found a few landowners of a superior class, descendants of noble families or of high officials to whom large estates had been assigned for their maintenance, subject only to the payment of a quit-rent. Such were the Rājās of Kanikā and Kujang, who were originally members of the royal family of Mayūrbhanj and were established in their possessions about the 13th century A.D., under the Gajapati dynasty, and the Rājās of Aul and Patiyā, who were the descendants of the last Hindu kings of Orissa and were confirmed in their estates by Todar Mal. Besides these, there were a number of estates all along the sea-coast, denominated *garhs* or *kilās*, which were held by chiefs called Khandaits, who, like their more powerful neighbours of Aul, Kujang and Kanikā, paid but a light *peshkash* or quit-rent, kept bands of *paiks*, and were bound to render military service when called upon to do so: few of these, however, had succeeded in maintaining the privilege of paying only a quit-rent and most had by slow degrees been reduced to the position of ordinary zamindārs. At the time of the British conquest, these petty chiefs made some attempt at resistance, but they gave way on the approach of the troops and were pardoned; and in recognition of their ancient lineage and to secure their loyalty, Government by Regulation XII of 1805 confirmed in perpetuity the revenue tribute or *peshkash* of Aul, Kujang, Kanikā, Bishnupur and Harispur, and secured from enhancement the revenue fixed by the *sanads* granted to the Khandait zamindārs of Darpan, Sukindā and Mādhupur. The latter were adventurers from the north-west, and, though equally independent, were of inferior rank to the chiefs of the sea-coast. They received *sanads* and executed *kauliyats* for the payment of revenue, while the Rājās of Aul, Kanikā and similar estates executed agreements and received acknowledgments of their right to hold at a quit-rent. There are now 24 permanently-settled estates with a demand of Rs. 99,507.

Besides these permanently-settled *mahāls* and the temporarily settled estates of the Mughalbandi, there are in Cuttack certain

PERMAN-
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ESTATES.

estates, called *kilājāt*, which occupy an anomalous intermediate position, viz., *kilās* Dompāra, Balarāmpur, Ragri, Chausatipāra and Kantājhar. Mān Singh left these estates as part of the Rājwāra, but the Marāthās resumed them, with the exception of Dompāra, which was of the nature of a *jāgir*. They collected the revenue payable by them direct, but left their former holders in possession; these were all men of ancient Hindu stock, allied to the chiefs of the Garjāt States, who kept up on a small scale the pomp and dignity of independent chiefs. On the British conquest, these 5 *kilās* were brought on the roll of temporarily-settled estates, and their revenue was enhanced on different occasions; Dompāra was, however, restored in 1829 to the position of a permanently-settled zamīndārī, provided only that, in the event of any alienation, the assessment should be open to revision. At the settlement of 1837 the proprietors of these estates claimed a permanent settlement, pointing out that they had similar titles to those of the Garjāt chieftains, and had only submitted to British rule in the hope of obtaining more lenient treatment. It was ruled however that they had no legal right to be treated otherwise than as proprietors of temporarily-settled estates; but as a matter of policy Government allowed the revenue previously paid to continue for the term of the settlement. At the last settlement it was decided to accord these picturesque chieftains specially lenient treatment and to fix the existing revenue of their *kilās* in perpetuity, subject only to revision in the event of the alienation of the whole or any part of their estates.

GROWTH
OF
REVENUE.

It has already been shewn that the recent settlement has raised the revenue demand of the temporarily-settled estates from Rs. 7,14,100 to Rs. 10,99,300, which is only Rs. 3,88,000 more than in 1809-10, but in a large number of estates the increase was imposed gradually, and the figure given above is the final revenue which will be payable from 1908. In 1904-05 the total current land revenue demand was Rs. 12,19,553, of which Rs. 10,78,226 was payable by 4,705 temporarily-settled estates, Rs. 41,820 by 7 estates held direct by Government, and the balance by 24 permanently-settled estates. The increase in the land revenue now paid is, however, even greater than these figures would appear to indicate, owing to the fact that in the early days of English administration the whole demand could not be collected and remissions had to be frequently given.

Under the rule of the Mughals and Marāthās the persons whom we recognized as proprietors of the soil were, in theory at least, officers of Government, responsible to it for the revenue they collected, and, accordingly, they were not entitled to any

remission. But, when droughts or serious floods occurred, the cultivator did not pay his rent, and there is reason to believe that the native rulers recognized such calamities as a valid excuse for short payments, so that the actual collections always fell short of the full demand. When we first conquered the Province, the Bengal Regulations were extended to it, and the assessment, which under the Marāthās had included a considerable margin for remissions and deductions, became a fixed and invariable debt, which the zamīndār had to discharge to the day on pain of losing his estate, in spite of the fact that Cuttack is a district peculiarly liable to suffer from the extremes of drought and flood. The consequences of the attempt to engraft the rigid administration of a permanently-settled Province on a country and people wholly unsuited to it, how one after another the estates of the oldest families of Orissa were sold up and passed into the hands of Bengali adventurers, how even these failed to meet the revenue demand, and collections fell as low as 65 per cent. and the *pais* rose in rebellion, has already been described. In later years the Government was more liberal; in the 36 years ending in 1866 remissions of the revenue were made eight times on account of floods, and five times on account of drought; and in this way upwards of 22 lakhs, or three years' revenue, was remitted. Since 1866 no remissions of land revenue have been made, though certain sums have been written off in the Government *khās mahāls*. There has in fact been no such necessity for relief, as the resources of the district have increased largely, while the land revenue has remained stationary; and at the same time the construction of canals and the improvement of the embankment system have greatly decreased the liability to loss from the vicissitudes of the season.

On the other hand, the amount which Government derives from land revenue is very much curtailed by the very large number of revenue-free properties. The *pargana* officials of the pre-British period freely exercised the right of gift, and an enormous number of rent-free tenures were thus created. Some of these tenures were resumed at the first regular settlement of the district, but a great many more were confirmed, as it was laid down that all lands which had been held rent-free during the two previous years, 1802-03 and 1803-04, should continue to be so held during the currency of the settlement. They were to be settled with the persons in possession, on their executing agreements to be responsible for the preservation of the peace, and to abstain from the collection of *sair* or other dues of any kind. It was, no doubt, intended that a careful scrutiny should afterwards

REVENUE-
FREE
LANDS.

be made into the validity of all claims to hold land rent-free under the above rule; but, unfortunately, circumstances prevented this investigation being made until long afterwards. The selection of the two years 1802-03 and 1803-04 as those during which the possession of land rent-free gave a *prima facie* title to the occupier to continue to hold it on the same terms was peculiarly unfortunate, and resulted in a large loss of Government revenue. During those two years, the Marāthās had little leisure to devote to the details of revenue business. Their own superior officers, with no one to supervise them, contented themselves with their own aggrandizement, and did not interfere with their subordinates, so long as the interests of the latter did not clash with their own. The consequence was that every one, from the *āmīl* to the *mukaddam*, took advantage of the confusion to appropriate the lands under his charge. Documents, if called for, were easily forged in those days, and the burden of proof that they were non-valid was thrown upon the Collector; and by the year 1808 more than a hundred thousand such documents, affecting at least one-eighteenth of the land in the Province, had been filed in the Collector's office. Many of these claims were known to be fraudulent and invalid, but no attempt was made to sift them till 1837, when a systematic enquiry was begun. Large areas were resumed, but even so 73,252 estates, covering an area of 128,000 acres, were confirmed as revenue-free. These lands were protected in perpetuity from assessment, with the exception of the lands known as *hin hayāti lākhīrāj*, which were declared to be liable to resumption on the death of the incumbent; and the duties of the Settlement Department during the last resettlement were accordingly limited to the identification of the lands claimed as *lākhīrāj*, i.e., as free of payment of revenue, within one or other of the confirmed grants recorded in the papers of the last settlement, and to recording the amount of land held without title. The area of the land recorded as revenue-free during this settlement was 133,400 acres, or 16 per cent. of the total area assessed to revenue. This is a large area, but it must be remembered that Orissa is the Holy Land of the Hindus and that it supports a very large population of Brāhman priests in attendance at an infinite number of Hindu shrines. The *bāziāfidārs*, or holders of these revenue-free tenures, are for the most part Brāhmans, who look upon themselves as proprietors rather than tenants. They form the village aristocracy and are most undesirable tenants, as they do not generally cultivate the land themselves and are most remiss in the payment of rent, while the sanctity of their caste makes the petty zamīndār unwilling to proceed to extremes and sell up their tenures.

As regards the persons with whom Government made this settlement, some of the real zamindars who held proprietary rights under the Mughals or Marathas had been recognized as Rajas of *Kilas*, or had received permanent settlements of their lands, before the commencement of the settlement proceedings of 1837. The present zamindars of Orissa would appear to be descended from all the *talukdars*, rent-collectors, village headmen, holders of resumed *jagirs* and the like, who were found, at the time of the British conquest, to be paying their revenue direct into the Maratha treasuries, as well as from the holders of the larger revenue-free properties that were resumed and assessed to revenue by us during the early years of the last century. Under these zamindars, again a class of subordinate proprietors, or proprietary tenure-holders, was recognized at the settlement of 1837, which was composed for the chief part of village headmen, such as *mukaddams*, *sarbarahkars* and *purvethis*, or the purchasers or recipients of proprietary rights in small plots of land from the zamindars or *mukaddams*, such as *khariddars* or *shikma zamindars*.

The above form the proprietary classes, the zamindars paying their revenue direct to the treasury, and the sub-proprietors or proprietary tenure-holders paying their revenue through the zamindars of the estates within which their lands lay. With them also may be included the *lakhiraj bahaldars*, or holders of confirmed revenue-free lands, who possess a permanent right to hold their lands free of land revenue, and are independent of the zamindars of whose estates their lands originally formed a part, except in so far as they are bound under Act IX (B.C.) of 1880 to pay certain cesses through those zamindars.

The tenantry who hold beneath the proprietors or proprietary tenure-holders mentioned above may be divided roughly into seven classes: (1) the *Tankidars*, or holders of small areas permanently assessed at a quit-rent; (2) the *Nisfi baziastidars*, or holders of resumed rent-free lands assessed for the term of the settlement of 1837 at half rates; (3) the *Kamil baziastidars*, or holders of resumed rent-free lands assessed at that settlement at full rates; (4) the *Thani ryots*, or resident cultivators, whose rents were fixed for the term of the settlement; (5) the *Chandinā ryots*, or holders of homestead lands, whose rents were also fixed for the term of the settlement; (6) the *Pahi ryots*, or non-resident ryots, who were practically, in most cases, tenants-at-will; and (7) the holders of service and other *jagirs* who held their lands rent-free, either in consideration of services to be rendered, or as rewards for services in the past. The above list is not exhaustive, but includes all but a few small classes of the tenants of the district.

Zamindārs.

The average size of the zamindāri estates in Cuttack (263 acres) is smaller than in any of the districts of Orissa, and the majority of them pay a revenue ranging from Rs. 11 to Rs. 50. The division of proprietary right by inheritance or sale has been carried to great lengths, the average number of recorded proprietors being seven to each estate, and their total number having increased since the last settlement from 5,400 to 31,900. The number of petty estates is greatest in the north of the district, where the tendency is for property to pass into the hands of proprietors drawn from the cultivating classes with infinite subdivision of lands and shares. In the southern *parganas* all the small estates are being gradually absorbed by the *mahājan* families; but in central and eastern Cuttack almost all the big estates are owned by Bengali zamindārs, and there have been comparatively few changes of proprietorship in the last 50 years. A large amount of property was acquired by Bengali speculators at the revenue sales held at Fort William in the early part of the 19th century, but since the year 1833 very few estates have passed into the hands of aliens, and, on the other hand, while a few of the Bengali landlords have lost their property, several of them have become practically naturalized in Orissa. Their estates are generally managed with justice and fairness to the ryots, though the majority of them are absentees living in Bengal, who rarely pay a personal visit to their property. Seven of the 15 principal estates in the district are held by these Bengalis, but nearly all the small estates are held by Oriyās. The average revenue paid is Rs. 247, and the zamindārs are on the whole a prosperous class. After deducting the cost of collection and litigation, the minimum profit which reaches the proprietor's pocket is estimated at 70 per cent.; in a vast majority of cases the net collections are not less than 80 per cent. of the demand; and the steady increase of the prices obtained for zamindāri estates points to the great advantages and the secure return that this form of investment yields to capitalists.

Tenure-
holders.

Fortunately for the district the chain of middlemen between Government and the cultivator is not very long. The various grades of sub-infeudation inevitable under the Patni Regulations of Bengal do not exist; in most of the estates only the zamindār intervenes between Government and the ryot; and even where tenure-holders intervene, they are comparatively few. The various grades of tenure-holders appear to have sprung up in the course of the transition of the Oriyā village communities into their modern form, and the prominent feature which distinguishes them from ordinary tenures is that very few of them were created by

the zamindārs during the last century, and that most of them have grown concurrently with the growth of the zamindāri interest and in spite of the opposition of the zamindārs. As the superior officers under the Mughal settlement crystallized into *talukdārs*, so the village headmen and accountants tended to become land-holders, and they are now found in the position of proprietary tenure-holders as *padhāns*, *mukaddams*, *pursethis* and *sarbarāhkārs*. The old Hindu name of the village headman was *padhān*, but most of this class were absorbed, under the Arabic form of the name, as *mukaddams* into the Muhammadan system; while the *pursethis* were also headmen whose duty it was to collect the rents, superintend the cultivation and settle ryots in the villages. All these were transformed in course of time into tenure-holders; while the zamindārs subordinate rent-collectors, the *sarbarāhkārs*, gradually acquired separate tenures, just as their masters, having been originally rent-collectors of a higher grade, acquired the substantial interest of zamindārs. Some *sarbarāhkārs* were originally mere servants of the zamindārs who collected their rents from the cultivators and enjoyed *jāgirs*; some obtained possession of their villages as farmers only, but gradually obtained a prescriptive right to the tenure as it descended from one generation to another, while others again were *sardār paiks*, who were bound to attend the summons of the chief and paid rent for that part of their village lands not occupied as *jāgir*. Another important class of tenure-holders consists of the *kharidādārs*; or purchasers of waste lands. It was customary in the days of the Mughals and Marāthās for the superior revenue officers to recognize a species of sale by which those who engaged for the revenue, transferred small areas of waste land and jungle to persons who undertook to bring it under cultivation or to found villages. The areas were supposed to be small and worthless, but fraud was practised in many cases, and valuable lands were frequently alienated for a small consideration.

The most curious of all the subordinate proprietary tenures is the *shikmī zamindāri*, which appears to be of recent creation and to have arisen in three ways. The first and perhaps the most common case is that of resumed service tenures, where one or two of the *jāgirdārs* were permitted to engage for the payment of the revenue, and the others were recorded as *shikmī* (i.e. included) zamindārs paying through the recorded *mālguzārs* or revenue payers. The second case is that in which lands were assigned by a *mālguzār* for the support of his near relatives. The relative, if he did not engage separately for the payment of the revenue, was recorded as a *shikmī zamindār* and generally received the whole

*Shikmī
zamindārs.*

of the *mālikānā* allowance. The third case is that of alienations of one or more villages of an estate previous to the settlement of 1837, when the purchaser was sometimes recorded as a *shikmī* zamindār getting all the allowances instead of a co-sharer. All these tenure-holders were treated as sub-proprietors at the last settlement. Rents were not settled under the Tenancy Act, but they were allowed to retain a share of the proprietary allowances, and were generally given the whole benefit of any reduction in the proportion of the gross assets given as revenue. They executed *kabuliyats* for the payment of the revenue assessed in much the same form as the zamindārs, and no attempt was made to curtail or define any of their existing rights and privileges except in so far that they were set forth in the *kabuliyat*.

Alienation
of proprie-
tary
tenures.

Not only is the market value of these interests very high, but the position and local prestige attaching to the tenures makes them highly prized by the middle-class Oriyās. The tenure-holder is a man of local consequence; the ancient traditions still survive, the *mukaddam* is still the arbitrator in local quarrels, and his authority is held in considerable respect by the tenantry. They were the trusted leaders of the people in Stirling's time, and their position has not changed materially during the last 80 years; they still hold the position of village headmen to whom the police look for help in discovering and detecting crime, and they are practically the interpreters between the rulers and the ruled. The undisputed rights of succession and the freedom of transfer which the *mukaddam* has gradually acquired and which we have finally recognized are however a fatal gift which is gradually undermining the position of these tenure-holders. The devolution of property in Orissa obeys the *Mitāksharā* law, and the constant splitting up of shares which this system involves has a continual tendency to make the tenure insufficient to support the family. The *mukaddams* therefore either gradually oust the ryots and manage to support their families by paying the rent and cultivating the lands themselves, or they find the struggle hopeless and are forced to sell their ancestral rights. Sometimes they disappear altogether, but more frequently they remain in the village cultivating their lands as the ryots of the new purchasers. All along the Kātjurī river, where the largest number of these tenures are found, the *mukaddams* and *sarbarāhkārs* have been in contact with big and powerful zamindārs, and in times of bad harvests and scarcity they have been unable to withstand the pressure and have yielded to necessity by selling their interests. Accordingly, a large number of the tenures in the flooded tracts of South Cūttock have passed into the hands of zamindārs and rich

mahājans; but on the other hand the village tenure-holders of the protected *parganas* in the interior have for the most part maintained their independence. This dispossession of the middlemen is, however, on the whole a result to be desired. As a landlord, the *mukaddam* collects higher rents than the big *zamīndārs*; and while he and his relations enjoy complete security of tenure in the best lands, he recognizes no right of occupancy in his other tenants and extorts from them the uttermost farthing. On the other hand, as a ryot he is still strong enough to resist unfair enhancements, and, with the help of the *khatians* which he has been given, he may be trusted to enjoy the rights of occupancy the law allows. The number of these sub-proprietors has multiplied greatly owing to the operation of the law of inheritance and partition, and at the last settlement altogether 10,598 tenure-holders were recorded as compared with 1,366 at the settlement of 1837, and the number of tenures recorded was 1,131, of which 593 were *mukaddami*, 281 were *sarbarāhkārī* and 166 were *shikmī zamīndārī*.

The cultivators may be broadly divided into two main groups, Tenants. the *thāni* and *pāhi* ryots, these being by far the most numerous Thāni and important of the tenants. The term *thāni* is a corruption of ryots. *sthāni* or *sthāniya*, i.e., local, and was originally applied to every resident ryot of the village; its use is now restricted to the successors in interest of the resident ryots who were recorded as such in the first regular settlement of the district. The *thāni* ryots have been in enjoyment of a hereditary right of occupancy from time immemorial, and their status is the creature of custom that has been in operation for many generations. Writing in 1822, Mr. Stirling remarked:—"They do not in general take out *pattās* nor do they give *kabuliyats*, as they hold their lands under their *jot* or plough hereditarily, and the amount of their proper payments on account of rent depends on a measurement and adjustment of rates made long anterior to the present day by act of the sovereign." These tenancies, as the holdings of resident tenants, naturally embraced all the best lands of the villages, and the customary rights of the resident tenant included many important privileges. He had the right to take up waste land at privileged rates; he had rights of pasture and fuel; his occupancy was hereditary; his rent was fixed; and he could be disturbed only on failure to pay his rent. The latter was therefore much higher than that of the non-resident tenant; and though it was thought at the settlement of 1837 that it was too high notwithstanding all these advantages, the rents found to be actually paid were as a general rule confirmed. The assessment

appears however to have been excessive, and a large proportion of these ryots disappeared during the currency of the settlement, owing no doubt to the famine of 1865-66. The area held by them decreased from 133,700 acres to 83,800 acres and the rents paid by them from Rs. 3,78,700 to Rs. 2,20,900.

Pāhi
ryots.

The *pāhi* ryots were originally the non-resident ryots of the villages, who, according to ancient custom, were mere tenants-at-will, until Act X of 1859 and the Bengal Tenancy Act marked an epoch by the creation of occupancy rights for their holdings. But the benevolent intentions of the law and the boon conferred by it were unknown in many parts till the commencement of the last settlement, the word *pāhi* continued to be a term of reproach among the ryots indicative of an absence of rights, and it was only the settlement proceedings of 1897 which brought home to these tenants the nature of their rights. As a matter of fact, the *pāhi* tenant of 60 years ago has ceased to be non-resident. He has settled down on his cultivation, and, under the operation of the Bengal Tenancy Act, he has become an occupancy tenant with all the rights and privileges which that Act has given. The name of the *pāhi* tenant has practically disappeared from the settlement records, as it is now held to comprise all the tenants included under the Bengal Tenancy Act as settled, the holdings of *thāni* ryots and all mixed holdings (*thāni-pāhi*) being excluded. Nearly all of these have occupancy rights, and out of the total area of 427,300 acres, only 8,100 acres are held by non-occupancy ryots.

Under-
tenants.

The under-tenants are divided into four classes: (1) ryots of tenure-holders with rights of occupancy; (2) ryots of tenure-holders with non-occupancy rights; (3) under-ryots with rights of occupancy; and (4) under-ryots liable to eviction for failure to pay rent or at the end of the year after service of due notice. From the figures obtained at the last settlement it appears that within the revenue-paying estates there are 120,046 under-tenants holding 52,481 acres. The percentage of under-ryots to the number of ryoti holdings (excluding *bāziāfi*) is 6·9; in other words about 7 per cent. of ryots other than *bāziāfidārs* sublet portions of their holdings, amounting in the aggregate to 2½ per cent. of the area held by them, while tenure-holders sublet 44 per cent. of their lands. Nearly all the under-ryots however have other lands of their own held as *pāhi* or *thāni* either in the same or a neighbouring village. Respectable ryots take up and cultivate lands held by Brāhmans, or small patches required for sugarcane and tobacco, which the ryot himself cannot or will not grow; and other under-ryots are tenants paying produce-rents, who are men of low caste with a position differing but little

from that of hired servants. Similarly, the ryots holding under tenure-holders may be divided into respectable ryots cultivating for their own convenience and low-caste men paying produce-rents, though the former largely predominate.

The relations between the zamindars and their ryots are generally amicable and peaceful, and the partial extension of the Bengal Tenancy Act to Orissa has improved the status of the tenants. There has been an appreciable increase in the number of rent cases under Act X of 1859 during the last two or three years, but this is probably only temporary and is due to the fact that a few large estates which had become disorganized and seriously encumbered have recently been brought under better management; while the last settlement has placed landlords generally in a better position to realize their dues through the Courts. Constant oppression by impoverished petty zamindars is certainly less than in Bengal, and there are probably few places in the Province where the relationship between the zamindars of all grades and the tenants is more satisfactory than in Cuttack.

RELATIONS
OF LAND-
LORDS AND
TENANTS.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

ADMINIS-
TRATIVE
CHARGES
AND
STAFF.

THE administration of the district is in charge of the Collector under the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and for general administrative purposes it is divided into three sub-divisions with head-quarters at Cuttack, Jājpur, and Kendrāpāra. The head-quarters sub-division is under the direct supervision of the Collector, while each of the other two sub-divisions is in charge of a Sub-divisional Officer exercising the powers of a Deputy Collector in revenue matters. At Cuttack the Collector is assisted by a staff of Deputy Collectors, which consists generally of five officers, and occasionally of six, when a Joint-Magistrate is posted to the head-quarters station. In addition to this staff, a Sub-Deputy Collector is permanently stationed at Cuttack; another is available for a certain portion of the year to help either of the two Sub-divisional Officers who may be in need of assistance; and there are also two officers employed exclusively on special branches of work, viz., a Special Deputy Collector in charge of excise and income-tax, and a Deputy Collector with certificate powers, who is engaged in the collection of canal water-rates under the supervision of the Superintending Engineer of the Orissa Circle. The Government estate of Bānki, which is included in the head-quarters sub-division, is administered by a Sub-Deputy Collector, who is also in charge of the sub-treasury at that place. The Sub-divisional Officers of Kendrāpāra and Jājpur do not exercise original jurisdiction in any revenue matters except rent suits, all other revenue matters being dealt with by the staff at Cuttack.

After the conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803, two Joint-Commissioners were appointed who at once took measures to place the administration on a satisfactory footing. Courts were established, a land settlement was arranged for, and the Bengal Civil Regulations were extended to the Province. The office of the "Commissioners for settling the affairs of Cuttack" was abolished in 1805, and the Province placed under the charge of a Collector, and of a Judge and Magistrate. For 24 years after this, the whole Province formed but one district, having its head-quarters

at Puri until 1816, when Cuttack was made the capital. In 1829 the Province was split up into the three regulation districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri, and the non-regulation Tributary States. After the formation of the district, the criminal and revenue jurisdiction underwent many changes until 1870, when the Baitarani and Dhāmra rivers were fixed as its northern limit. The only important change made in its jurisdiction after that year was the annexation to it of Bānki in 1881. The sub-divisional system was not introduced till 1859, when Jājpur and Kendrapāra were for the first time constituted separate sub-divisions.

The revenue of the district has gradually increased from Rs. 14,30,000 in 1880-81 (when the income-tax had not been imposed) to Rs. 14,61,000 in 1890-91, and to Rs. 19,71,000 in 1900-01. In 1904-05 it amounted to Rs. 20,40,136, of which the greater portion (Rs. 12,11,384) was derived from land revenue; the other main heads of income were excise (Rs. 3,31,407), stamps (Rs. 3,09,373), cesses (Rs. 1,56,227) and income-tax (Rs. 31,745). REVENUE.

The excise revenue is as usual derived from imported liquors, Excise. country spirits, *tāri*, opium, and the duty and license fees on hemp drugs. A statement of the various exciseable articles and of the sums realized from them in the decade 1893—1902 is given in the Appendix, from which it will be seen that the income from this source was steadily progressive till the end of last century. Since the year 1899-1900 it has decreased slightly, and in 1904-05 the total excise revenue amounted to Rs. 3,17,000, which represents an average of about three annas per head.

More than half of this sum (Rs. 1,90,000) is derived from the sale of opium, a drug to which the people have always been very much addicted. As early as 1813 the Collector reported that the inhabitants of Cuttack might be said to live on opium and that they could hardly exist without it; large quantities were brought in from the Hill States; and when a proclamation was issued declaring all smuggled opium liable to confiscation, the *kachahri* was besieged by applicants for licenses; some *fakirs* took up their place in front of it with ropes round their necks, vowing that if they were not supplied with the drug, they would hang themselves; and some even offered to pay a tax of Rs. 9 a day for the privilege of buying it. At the present day the use of opium is no less frequent, and the income derived from this source is greater than in any other district in Bengal except Balasore. There is one shop for the sale of the drug and its preparations to every 26,445 persons, and the amount realized from duty and license fees is Rs. 923 for every 10,000 of the people. After opium the most important source of revenue is the duty and license fees

levied on *ganja*, i. e., the unimpregnated dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis indica*), the amount thus realized being Rs. 70,500 in 1904-05. *Bhang* is very little used, and the total incidence of the revenue accruing from hemp drugs is only Rs. 346 for every ten thousand, the number of shops licensed to sell by retail being one to every 20,627 persons. The receipts from country fermented liquor or *tāri* (Rs. 40,500) and from country spirits distilled from rice (Rs. 27,550) form the only other source of revenue which is of any importance. The Oriyā is very far from being a hard drinker, and the consumption of liquor is very small. He pays less than half an anna for the luxury of spirits and fermented liquors; the average consumption of distillery liquor per 1,000 of the population is only 3 proof gallons and of outstill liquor less than one gallon, the incidence of taxation per head being only 3 pies and one pie respectively; and the fact that there is only one retail shop to every 82,500 persons shows how small is the demand for country spirit.

The manufacture and sale of country spirit was until recently carried on under what is known as the Central distillery system, i. e., there was one distillery at Cuttack for the supply of the whole district, though this system was modified for the benefit of isolated and sparsely populated areas by allowing a few out-stills to be kept up in jungle tracts. Recently however it has been decided to substitute spirit manufactured by European processes for that made locally by the ordinary country methods in Bengal, and to make arrangements, as an experimental measure, with one of the well-equipped distilleries outside the Province to supply Orissa with spirit for sale by retail vendors. The contract distillery system has accordingly been introduced from the 1st April 1905; the local manufacture of country spirit has been absolutely prohibited, and arrangements have been made with the Russa Distillery in Shāhjahānpur for the supply of spirit distilled from rice but manufactured by European processes. The contract suppliers are required to open bonded warehouses and wholesale depôts in places fixed by the Excise Commissioner, so as to ensure the ready supply of country spirit to all retail vendors. The spirit is placed in these bonded depôts and wholesale warehouses at proof or above proof, and is there blended and reduced to certain fixed strengths, at which alone it may be supplied to retail vendors and sold by the latter to consumers. The duty is realized on issue of the spirit from the bonded warehouses, and maximum wholesale prices have been fixed for the period of the contract. The licenses for retail vend are settled by auction, but the contract-suppliers or their agents are not allowed to bid.

The revenue from stamps ranks next in importance as a source Stamps. of income to that derived from excise, the incidence being a little over 2 annas a head. The people generally are not litigious, and the use of stamped documents is limited, palm-leaf documents being still used for ordinary transactions, though they are gradually going out of use. During the ten years ending in 1904-05 the stamp revenue has risen from Rs. 2,13,000 to Rs. 3,09,000, an increase due to the growing demand for judicial stamps, which brought in Rs. 2,40,500 as compared with Rs. 1,64,400 in 1894-95. The increase in their sale has on the whole been steadily progressive, and has presumably been caused by the gradual growth of litigation, as the receipts from court-fee stamps (Rs. 2,24,000) alone show an increase of over half a lakh of rupees. The demand for non-judicial stamps during the same period has not kept pace with that for judicial stamps, the receipts being only Rs. 20,000 more than in 1894-95.

The road and public works cesses are, as usual, levied at the Cesses. maximum rate of one anna in the rupee. The current demand has recently increased owing to a revaluation which took effect from the beginning of 1903-04; and in 1904-05 it amounted to Rs. 1,71,441, the greater part of which was payable by 6,703 revenue-paying estates, nearly the whole of the remainder being due from 4,228 revenue-free estates. The number of tenures assessed to cesses was 71,046, and there are thus more than six times as many tenures in the district as there are estates; while the number of recorded shareholders of estates and of tenures was 87,666 and 75,546, respectively. The gross rental of the district is now Rs. 34,79,406, as compared with Rs. 21,47,473 when road cess was first assessed under Act X (B.C.) of 1871.

From the Appendix it will be observed that in 1901-02 the Income-tax. income-tax yielded altogether Rs. 30,395 paid by 1,347 assesses, of whom 1,021 paying Rs. 11,260 had incomes of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. At that time the minimum income assessable was Rs. 500, but this was raised to Rs. 1,000 per annum in 1903; and the number of assesses consequently fell. In 1904-05 they numbered 502, while the net collections were Rs. 31,745, the incidence of the tax being about half an anna a head.

There are five offices for the registration of assurances under Registration. Act III of 1877, one at the head-quarters station and the others at Jagatsinghpur, Jajpur, Kendrapāra and Tirtol. At Cuttack the Special Sub-Registrar deals, as usual, with the documents presented there, and assists the District Magistrate, who is *ex-officio* Registrar, in supervising the proceedings of the Rural

Sub-Registrars who are in charge of the other registration offices.

NAME.	Documents registered.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
		Rs.	Rs.
Cuttack ...	6,927	9,493	4,775
Jagatsinghpur ...	5,004	3,839	2,216
Jajpur ...	5,744	5,422	2,404
Kendrapāra ...	4,812	4,000	2,154
Tirtol ...	2,740	1,978	1,575
TOTAL ..	25,227	24,732	13,104

The marginal statement shows the number of documents registered and the receipts and expenditure at each office in 1904. In 1894-95 the total number of documents registered was only 11,943, and even this low figure was 20 per cent. greater than the

number registered in the previous two years. From the fact that in each of the three years ending in 1904 the total number of registrations was more than double this figure, it may be concluded that the popularity of registration has steadily grown, though the increase has also no doubt been largely due to the settlement proceedings having stimulated the sale of ryoti rights. The most noticeable features of the various transactions are the number of sales of intermediate tenures and ryoti holdings and the number of perpetual leases registered. Altogether 2,391 deeds of sale of tenures were executed, or nearly double the number registered elsewhere in the Division; 1,427 deeds of sale transferring ryoti holdings at fixed rates were executed, there being only one other transaction of this kind in the rest of Orissa; and there were altogether 8,488 sales of ryoti holdings with rights of occupancy: the purchase-money was Rs. 1,65,534, Rs. 57,835 and Rs. 3,22,166 respectively. The bulk of the purchasers of tenures were tenure-holders, while holdings at fixed rates were generally transferred to ryots, and holdings with rights of occupancy to ryots of zamindārs. The number of perpetual leases (101) registered was nearly double that of 1903; they were mostly leases of *sebhayat* lands let out by the trustees for large premiums, and it has been suggested that the abnormal increase under this head points to the impoverished condition of the *mārfatdars* of endowment properties.

ADMINIS-
TRATION
OF JUS-
TICE.
Civil Jus-
tice.

The judicial staff entertained for the purposes of civil justice consists of the District Judge, a Subordinate Judge and a Munsif stationed at Cuttack, and of a Munsif at each of the sub-divisional head-quarters, Jajpur and Kendrapāra. The District Judge is in charge of the administration of civil justice and the other officers work in subordination to him. The Subordinate Judge exercises the usual powers of a Sub-Judge and of a Small Cause Court Judge up to Rs. 500, while the Munsifs exercise Small Cause

Court powers up to Rs. 100. An Additional Munsif is generally stationed at Cuttack to relieve the pressure of work, though he does not belong to the permanent staff, and other Munsifs are also employed temporarily at the sub-divisional head-quarters whenever their services are required to clear off an accumulation of cases. The jurisdiction of the District Judge and Subordinate Judge also extends over the districts of Balasore and Puri. Statistics of the work performed by the various Civil Courts will be found in the Appendix.

Criminal justice is administered by the District Judge, who is also Sessions Judge, the District Magistrate and the various Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates at the head-quarters and sub-divisional stations. The sanctioned staff at Cuttack consists, in addition to the District Magistrate, of 4 Deputy Magistrates of the first class and one Deputy Magistrate of the second or third class. Besides these officers, a Sub-Deputy Magistrate with third-class powers is generally posted to the head-quarters station, the Station Staff Officer has the powers of a Magistrate of the third class within cantonment limits, and the Sub-Deputy Collector at Banki exercises second-class powers. The Sub-divisional Officers of Jajpur and Kendrapāra are almost invariably Magistrates of the first class, and they are occasionally assisted by Sub-Deputy Magistrates vested with second- or third class powers. In the municipalities of Cuttack, Jajpur and Kendrapāra there are benches of Honorary Magistrates, exercising second-class powers, composed of 13, 7 and 9 members respectively. One member of each bench is authorized to sit singly for the trial of cases, and one Honorary Magistrate has been granted the powers of a Magistrate of the first class and is authorized to try cases summarily under section 260, Criminal Procedure Code.

Statistics showing the work of the Criminal Courts and the class of offences dealt with will be found in the Appendix. The latter call for no special comment, as the district is singularly free from serious crime. The Oriyā is generally a mild and inoffensive creature, with little inclination for crime, and he is still further deterred from criminal courses by the fact that imprisonment often entails loss of caste. Crime is in fact much less frequent than in the more civilized parts of Bengal, nor is there any class of crime characteristic of the district. The commonest forms of offences are theft and burglary, the detection of which is always difficult. The soft mud walls of the houses through which the burglar digs his way renders it unlikely that he will break the weary sleep of the inmates or neighbours, the narrow alleys between the houses afford a safe hiding place, even if a *chaukidār* happens to

pass by, and the adroitness of the thief and the negligence of the village watchman combine to render his trade easy and his detection a rare occurrence. The property stolen, moreover, usually consists of brass utensils, trumpery ornaments, clothing, cash or grain; and when the same pattern prevails throughout a Province, the identification of the property is as difficult as the concealment of it is easy. The comparative freedom of the district from crime is in striking contrast to the state of affairs in the early part of last century. Cattle-stealing was very prevalent, and large droves of stolen cattle found their way to Calcutta; thefts and robberies were extremely common; but besides these offences, which were probably equally prevalent in other parts of Bengal, the district had an unenviable reputation for the frequent occurrence of cases of murder and homicide. As early as 1815 the Court of Directors called the attention of the Indian Government to the fact that cases of this kind, distinct from and unaccompanied by any other offence, were of more frequent occurrence in Cuttack than in any other district of Bengal. Dacoity, a crime almost unknown before 1810, became frightfully common after the Khurdā rebellion in 1818, though it soon died out with the pacification of the country. Bribery, corruption, speculation, forgery and perjury were rife in all the courts and public offices, though it was but seldom that the offenders were brought to justice. Several cases of *sati* occurred annually, and we learn from the records that in 1812 no less than nine widows sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile of the Rājā of Kanikā.

Police.

For police purposes, the district is divided into 10 police circles (thānas), viz., (1) Bānki, (2) Cuttack, (3) Jagatsinghpur, (4) Sālipur, and (5) Tirtol in the head-quarters sub-division; (6) Aul or Rājābāri, (7) Kendrāpāra, and (8) Patāmundai in the Kendrāpāra sub-division; and (9) Dharmshāla, and (10) Jājpur in the sub-division of that name. Subordinate to the thānas are 14 outposts, and there are therefore, in all, 24 centres for the investigation of crime. The force employed in the prevention and detection of crime consisted in 1904 of the District Superintendent of Police, 4 Inspectors (two in the head-quarters sub-division and one each in the other sub-divisions), 38 Sub-Inspectors, 41 head-constables and 489 constables; and the rural force for the watch and ward of villages in the interior had a strength of 360 *dafadārs* and 3,585 *chaukidārs* grouped in 737 unions, the average population per union being 2,692 and per *chaukidār* 553. The cost of maintenance of the regular force was Rs. 71,000, and there was one policeman to every 10½ square miles and to every 6,139 persons,

as compared with the average of $9\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and 4,832 persons for the whole of Orissa. In addition to the regular and rural police, there is a force of 8 officers and 106 men employed in the municipalities and the Cuttack cantonment.

There is a subsidiary jail at each of the sub-divisional stations Jajpur, Kendrapāra and Cuttack with accommodation for 12 prisoners each, and a district jail at Cuttack which can hold 340 prisoners. Statistics of the jail population from 1893 to 1902 will be found in the Appendix. The subsidiary jails are merely lock-ups, all but short-term prisoners being sent to the district jail; and in 1904 the daily average number of prisoners was only 6 at Jajpur and 4 at Kendrapāra. The district jail was built in 1810, and before that time political prisoners of high rank were confined in Fort Bārabāti, while ordinary civil and criminal prisoners were located in huts at Lalbāgh, in the old lines of the European regiments, which took part in the conquest of the Province, and in similar buildings near the Magistrate's *kachahri*, which were utilized for the purpose as occasion required. In the early days of jail administration at Cuttack, the labour of the prisoners was employed in the improvement of the town. Those few who were sentenced to private labour remained in the jail and there pounded bricks, made baskets, weaved mats, etc. The rest worked in gangs on the public roads by day, and at night were fastened like a drove of pack-bullocks by chains passing through the rings of their fetters. As a result of this free labour, great improvements were effected in Cuttack, tanks being dug and cleaned, marshes drained, and roads and lanes laid out and repaired.

At the present day, the prisoners are employed on oil-pressing, rope-making, the preparation of coir fibre, and the weaving of carpets and mats: in 1904 the net profits were Rs. 5,324. Accommodation is provided for 340 prisoners; there are 4 cells for convicts, the hospital holds 31 patients, and there are barracks for 21 under-trial prisoners, 6 civil prisoners, 6 juvenile prisoners, 21 female convicts and 251 male convicts. The average daily number of prisoners confined in 1904 was 312 males and 7 females, and the mortality from all causes was 28 per mille of the average strength. This ratio is higher than that for the Province as a whole (20 per mille), and was largely due to diarrhoea, dysentery and pneumonia.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

OUTSIDE municipal areas, local affairs are managed by the District Board which has jurisdiction over the whole district, and by the Local Boards which have been constituted for each subdivision. The District Board is responsible for the maintenance of roads, bridges and road-side rest-houses, and has the general superintendence of primary and middle class schools. It is also entrusted with the management of pounds and public ferries, the control over dispensaries, the provision of a proper water-supply and village sanitation. To the Local Boards, which work in subordination to it, have been delegated the administration of small sums allotted for the construction and repair of village roads and certain functions which will be mentioned later.

THE
DISTRICT
BOARD.

The District Board consists of 21 members, of whom 10 are elected, 6 are nominated, while 5 are *ex-officio* members. The Statistical Appendix shews, for the years 1892-93 to 1901-02, the principal sources from which it derives its income, and the objects on which it is spent; and it will suffice here to say that its average annual income during the decade ending in 1904 was Rs. 1,34,000, of which Rs. 62,000 was derived from Provincial rates, while the average expenditure was Rs. 1,30,000, of which Rs. 67,000 was spent on civil works, Rs. 44,000 on education and Rs. 6,000 on medical relief. In 1904-05 the Board had an opening balance of Rs. 36,600, and its total income from all sources was Rs. 1,46,000, or 1½ anna per head of the population. The expenditure in the same year was Rs. 1,60,600. Here, as elsewhere, the Provincial rates form the principal source of income, but the incidence of taxation is extremely light, being only 7 pies per head of the population.

By far the largest portion of the income of the District Board is spent on education, the percentage of the expenditure on education to ordinary income being as high as 40-20. It maintains 5 Middle schools and 3 Upper Primary schools, and aids 18 Middle, 92 Upper Primary, 1,900 Lower Primary and 6 other schools. Besides this, it provides two scholarships of Rs. 20

each a month for education in the Sibpur Engineering College, three scholarships for practical training in the Jobra workshop, and one scholarship of Rs. 12 in the Bengal Veterinary College, and also grants Rs. 100 for the education of women in the Cuttack Medical School. For the purpose of supervision, an inspecting staff of 10 Sub-Inspectors and 30 Inspecting Pandits is entertained.

The District Board maintains altogether 34 miles of metalled roads and 335 miles of unmetalled roads, besides 445 miles of village roads, the cost of maintenance per mile in 1904-05 being Rs. 547, Rs. 55 and Rs. 22 respectively. Special attention has been given to the extension and improvement of railway feeder roads since the construction of the railway, and nearly Rs. 18,000 has been spent in this way during the last two years. In the decade ending in 1903-04, over 16,000 trees have been planted along the principal roads at a cost of Rs. 7,575; there are continuous avenues along 94 miles, and steps are being taken to extend and maintain them according to a definite system. The immediate administration of the roads is vested in the District Engineer, and that officer is also responsible for the management and upkeep of 16 inspection-houses. The Board also controls 93 pounds, from which it derives an income of Rs. 5,500, and 30 ferries, the lease of which brings in about Rs. 11,000 per annum. For the relief of sickness, it maintains 4 dispensaries and aids 3 others, but only 4.4 per cent. of its ordinary income is spent in medical relief and sanitation.

In subordination to the District Board are the Sadar, Jāipur and Kendrapāra Local Boards, the jurisdiction of each corresponding to the sub-divisional charge of the same name. The system of election in vogue in other parts of Bengal has not been introduced, and the members are nominated by Government. The Local Boards receive allotments from the funds of the District Board, and are entrusted with the maintenance of village roads, the administration of primary education and village sanitation, the upkeep of pounds and the charge of minor works of water-supply. The efficiency of these bodies is reported upon year unfavourably. It is said that, with one or two exceptions the members of the Local Boards render very little assistance in the work of administration, that their attendance at meetings is irregular, and that their supervision and check of village road works and the like is eminently unsatisfactory. Though much useful work is done in the outlying sub-divisions, it is done entirely by the Sub-divisional Officers, and in the head-quarters sub-division, where there is no touring officer to inspect the area

in its charge, proper check by the members of the Local Board has been found so impracticable that all roads have been made over to the District Engineer.

MUNI-
CIPALI-
TIES.

There are three municipalities in the district, viz., Cuttack, Jajpur and Kendrapāra. The total number of rate-payers is 11,432 or 15·5 per cent. of the urban population (73,909). The principal source of income in all the municipalities has hitherto been a tax levied, according to the circumstances and property of the assesses, at the rate of one per cent. per annum on their annual income, but recently a rate levied on holdings has been introduced in the Cuttack Municipality; the total incidence of taxation varies from Re. 1-0-8 at Cuttack to annas 6—9 at Jajpur. Statistics of the annual income and expenditure of each municipality during the ten years 1892-93 to 1901-02 will be found in the Appendix.

Cuttack.

Cuttack was constituted a municipality in 1876, and has a municipal board consisting of 18 members, of whom 12 are elected, 4 are nominated and 2 are *ex-officio* members. The area within municipal limits is 4·3 square miles, and the number of rate-payers is 6,895, or 14·8 of the population, the lowest percentage in the Division. The average annual income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 48,000 and the direct expenditure was Rs. 42,000, while in 1904-05 they were Rs. 52,000 and Rs. 54,000 respectively. The main heads of income were the tax on persons, from which Rs. 16,930 was realized, and the conservancy rates, which brought in Rs. 15,950, while Rs. 8,300 was derived from tolls and Rs. 4,100 from a tax on vehicles; the incidence of taxation, which is Re. 1-0-8 per head, is heavier than in any municipality in Orissa except Puri. In the same year, Rs. 22,750, or 37·7 per cent. of the total expenditure, was devoted to conservancy, and 17·2 per cent. to public works. Only 5·3 per cent. was spent on medical relief and 2·2 per cent. on education, while the total expenditure on water-supply was Rs. 800. There is no filtered water-supply, and the population have to obtain water for drinking from tanks, wells, and the Mahānadi and Kātjuri rivers. A large proportion of the people are dependent for their supply on the latter river, the scanty flow of which causes considerable hardship in the hot weather. A scheme for the supply of filtered water was prepared some years ago by the Sanitary Engineer, but was abandoned because the cost was beyond the resources of the municipality.

For many years past the finances have been in a very unsatisfactory state, and the municipality has been far from progressive, though Cuttack is the largest town in Orissa and as such should

be in a position to act as the pioneer of progress. In 1883-84 the total receipts were Rs. 31,605, in 1893-94 Rs. 39,295, and in 1902-03, they were Rs. 42,651. Of this, Rs. 8,626 was accounted for by the latrine tax, which was first imposed in 1889-90, when Rs. 1,032 was realized, and which brought in Rs. 7,362 in 1893-94. The tax on persons, which is the main source of income, brought in Rs. 15,119 in 1883-84 and Rs. 15,475 in 1902-03, and the receipts under this head were therefore practically the same after 20 years. The increase, such as it was, was mainly due to latrine fees, a tax levied for a special purpose which should not be devoted to other objects; and it was clear that taxation had not kept pace with the expansion of population and the growth of the importance of the town during the past two decades, especially since the opening of the railway. But the most signal instance of financial mismanagement was the fact that the liabilities of the municipality over the assets amounted in 1903 to no less than Rs. 17,655, the deficit representing more than 41 per cent. of the total annual income of 1902-03. For years the municipality had done little to improve the water-supply, to extend and improve drainage, to make new roads, to widen existing ones, and to support educational and medical institutions adequately; in other words it failed to keep abreast of all the principal civic requirements which add to the comfort, convenience, health, and education of the citizens.

In his report for 1902-03 the Commissioner stigmatized the condition of the Cuttack Municipality as lamentable. He stated that, instead of progress, there was a falling back in almost all important respects, and cited their failure to improve the assessment as a discreditable instance of the feebleness of the administration of the Municipal Commissioners of the town. Again in 1904 the Commissioner reported that, though the assessor appointed to revise the assessment increased the tax on persons by Rs. 14,300 and the latrine tax by Rs. 4,400, the total increase of Rs. 18,700 was reduced to Rs. 4,242 owing to the wholesale reductions made by the appeal committees, the net result being most unsatisfactory, apart from the large amount of avoidable harassment and expense which the proceedings entailed upon the people. Even after this increase of the assessment, the percentage of the rate-payers to the total population was nowhere smaller in any of the 16 principal towns in Bengal, and the incidence of assessment was lower than in any other of these towns, except in the much smaller municipality of Balasore.

On this Government pointed out that the Commissioners had only themselves to blame for the nugatory results of the

reassessment and for their financial difficulties. It was observed that the fact that a town of the size and importance of Cuttack should be content with the primitive tax on persons was a grave anomaly which ought not to be allowed to continue; and the Commissioners were advised to substitute a rate on holdings for the tax on persons and to undertake a fresh assessment for the purpose. The Commissioners then resolved to undertake a fresh assessment and to introduce a rate on holdings at the rate of 7½ per cent.; an assessor was deputed for the purpose of revising the assessment; and the new rate has been in force since the 1st July, 1905. Strenuous efforts have also been made to effect an improvement in other directions, since the attention of the Commissioners was drawn to the very unsatisfactory condition of the municipality; steps have been taken to ensure the prompt realization of arrears, the careful husbanding of existing resources, the removal of various abuses and the restoration of financial solvency, though it has only been possible to secure financial equilibrium by heavy retrenchments, by severe economy, and by starving the public works. The result of the measures taken may, however, be seen in the increased expenditure on the discharge of the essential duties of a municipality. Taxation has risen to over a rupee a head and the total income to Rs. 58,950, in spite of the heavy falling off of the receipts from ferries since the opening of the railway. The amounts spent on medical relief and roads are now nearly double what they were two years previously, while the expenditure on water-supply has increased five-fold; and it seems probable that with the change in the mode of assessment further developments will be possible. Since the construction of the railway Cuttack has been gaining in reputation as a health resort, its trade has increased, and the letting value of holdings has in consequence been rising steadily. The substitution of a rate on holdings for a tax on persons has therefore been a measure of great importance as a means of raising the tax with the rise in the value of holdings.

Jajpur.

Jajpur was constituted a municipality in 1869 and has a municipal board consisting of 12 Commissioners, of whom one is an *ex-officio* member and the rest are nominated. The area within municipal limits is 2 square miles, and the number of rate-payers is 2,016 or 16·6 per cent. of the population. The average income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 5,800 and the expenditure Rs. 5,300. In 1904-05 the income was Rs. 6,885, of which Rs. 4,124 was realized from the tax on persons, the incidence of taxation being as low as annas 6-9 per head. The expenditure in the same year was Rs. 6,465, of which 35 per cent.

was expended on conservancy, 16 per cent. on medical relief and 10 per cent. on education.

Kendrapāra was constituted a municipality in 1869 and is administered by a municipal board consisting of 12 members, all of whom are nominated. The area within municipal limits is $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and the number of rate-payers is 2,521 or one-sixth of the population. The average income and expenditure for the decade ending in 1901-02 were Rs. 8,000. In 1904-05 the income was Rs. 11,100, of which Rs. 6,662 was derived from the tax on persons, the incidence of taxation being annas 8-9 per head of the population. In the same year the expenditure amounted to Rs. 9,000, of which 21·6 per cent. was spent on public works, 17·6 on medical relief, 15·6 on conservancy and 8 per cent. on education.

Kendrapāra.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION.

EARLY
HISTORY
OF EDU-
CATION.

NOTHING perhaps illustrates the progress of Orissa under British rule more clearly than the history of the spread of education among its people. The contrast between the low estimation in which early observers held their intellectual capacities and the standard which they have now reached is very striking. Orissa was described as the Bœotia of India, and its people as equally ignorant and stupid; it was cited as a proof of the poverty of their qualifications that the principal official posts had to be filled by foreigners; and the reason assigned for this was that it was impossible to find Oriyās of sufficient ability for positions of responsibility and trust. When we first acquired the Province in 1803, there was scarcely a single native of Orissa in Government employ. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian, and it was not till 1805 that orders were passed that in all written communications with the natives of the Province the subject should be written in Oriyā as well as in Persian. This order necessitated the employment of Oriyā *muharrirs*, who, though skilful enough with their iron pen and bundle of palm-leaves, were almost helpless when required to write on paper with an ordinary pen. They are said to have been slow in acquiring any facility in this method of writing, ignorant of business in general, and especially of the new English method of revenue accounts. All the best ministerial appointments were consequently in the hands of Bengali clerks, who, attracted by the high pay that had to be offered to procure the requisite standard of efficiency, left their homes in Bengal, and bringing their families with them, settled in the Province and became naturalized Oriyās. Matters appear to have improved, but slowly, as time went on; and in 1821 the Magistrate reported:—"Scarcely a single real Oriyā receives a salary of more than Rs. 10 per mensem, but several are naturalized Bengalis or Musalmāns. I always give a preference to Oriyās, but at this moment I scarcely know a single Oriyā possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common *muharrir*."

The backwardness of education in Orissa during the first half century of British rule has been graphically described by Sir William Hunter. "Government," he writes, "not less than the missionaries, long found itself baffled by the obstinate orthodoxy of Orissa. Until 1838 no schools worthy of the name existed, except in the two or three little bright spots within the circle of missionary influence. Throughout the length and breadth of the Province, with its population of 2½ million of souls, all was darkness and superstition. Here and there, indeed, a *pandit* taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landholder's mansion; and the larger villages had a sort of hedge-school, where half a dozen boys squatted with the master on the ground, forming the alphabet in the dust, and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot-like sing-song. Any one who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed for a man of letters. In 1838 Government entered the field, and opened an English and a Sanskrit school at Puri. But these institutions proved altogether unable to make head against the tide of ignorance and bigotry, and presently sunk beneath the flood. In 1841 we opened a higher class English school at Cuttack, which after a long series of conflicts and discouragements still survives as the principal seat of education in the Province. During Lord Hardinge's administration two vernacular schools were set agoing in 1845; another one in 1848; and in 1853 an English school was founded in Balasore, while the one at Puri was resuscitated. In 1854 arrived the famous Educational Despatch which was to bring western enlightenment home to the eastern races. Yet for several years afterwards, the increase of schools throughout vast Provinces like Orissa has still to be counted by units. In three great Government estates (Khurdā, Bānki and Angul) we managed between 1855 and 1859 to set on foot 19 elementary schools; but in the latter year the total number for all Orissa, with close on 3 millions of people, amounted to only 29. The truth is the whole population was against us. Such little success as our schools obtained they owed, not to the Oriyās themselves, but to the Bengali families whom our Courts and public offices brought into the Province. Thus, of the 58 Orissa students who up to 1868 reached even the moderate standard exacted by the Calcutta University at its Entrance examinations, only 10 were native Oriyās, while 48 belonged to immigrant families."

The Brāhmins had hitherto held the monopoly of education and kept it strictly in their own hands; and caste prejudice and religious superstition were the great obstacles in the way of progress. The Government schools were looked upon as infidel

inventions; and even as late as 1860, a learned Oriyā, on being appointed to the orthodox post of Sanskrit teacher in the Puri school, was excluded for a year or two from the Brahmanical orders, and stormy discussions took place as to whether he should not be formally expelled from his caste. In spite however of such opposition, State education slowly, but surely, made its way in Orissa. In 1848-49 there were but 9 schools, with a total attendance of 279 pupils, out of a population of 3 million souls; but during the next ten years the schools had increased to 29, and the number of pupils to 1,046; while at the close of the third decennial period, *i.e.*, in 1868-69 there were 63 schools with 4,043 pupils.

Until 1869, however, no machinery existed in Orissa for training teachers, and the lack of qualified instructors was one of the greatest difficulties experienced in establishing and maintaining schools. In that year Government opened a Normal school in Cuttack town, at which young men were instructed with the object of qualifying them to become teachers in their turn. On the conclusion of the course of training, these young men dispersed through the Province, and settling in the villages, did much to bring education home to the ignorant peasantry. Each teacher collected as much as he could in money and rice from the villagers who sent their children to his school, and received a small weekly stipend from Government so long as he discharged his duty properly. A considerable number of schools of this sort were gradually opened, and no measure was more successful in breaking down the baneful influences of caste and popularizing education.

PROGRESS
OF EDU-
CATION.

In Cuttack itself the number of schools recognized by Government rose from three in 1856-57 to 50 in 1870-71, and the number of pupils from 168 to 2,755. Between 1871 and 1885 a still more remarkable development took place. In 1872 Sir George Campbell's scheme of educational reform, which extended the grant-in-aid rules to large numbers of hitherto unaided schools, came into effect; and many indigenous institutions being thus absorbed into the departmental system, the number of inspected schools increased by 1875 to 539 with an attendance of 10,196 pupils. The advance of education during the next decade was rapid and sustained, and in 1885 more than 65,000 pupils were receiving instruction in 4,736 public institutions. In other words, the number of schools and scholars was respectively 95 and 24 times as great in 1885 as it was in 1871. This extraordinary rate of progress has not been maintained; in the ten years ending in 1895 the work was hindered by the failure of crops which occurred in several years, the number of schools falling to 3,590, and the

attendance to 55,876; and the last ten years have witnessed a similar falling off in the number of schools. These numbered 3,527 on the 31st March 1905, but on the other hand there was a considerable increase in the number of pupils which rose to 65,237; and besides these, there are 203 schools, with 1,870 pupils, which do not conform to any departmental standard and are outside the Education Department system. Thus, during the past decade, the public institutions in the district have decreased by 63, but they have received an accession of no less than 9,361 pupils; and the period has been one of consolidation rather than of expansion. Even so, however, the number of children under instruction is practically the same as in 1885, and it is noteworthy that during these 20 years the scholars studying in Primary schools have increased by only 4,720.

Several causes have contributed to the slow growth of primary instruction. When the Education Department began to devote its attention to the extension and improvement of primary instruction, it had in the first place to deal with a portion of the population which was well-to-do and alive to the value of education, and who lived in the more populous and accessible parts of the district; and it was aided by the existing system of indigenous schools. In such circumstances, progress was comparatively easy. These favourable circumstances have been to a great extent exhausted, and the portion of the problem which remains to be dealt with is far harder. The benefits of education have now to be conveyed to the poorer ryots and the lower castes, who have from time immemorial lived without instruction and are altogether indifferent to it; and besides this, the efforts of the educated classes are more readily directed towards English than towards primary education.

The contrast between the state of education at the present time and 30 years ago is, however, sufficiently striking; and the wide dissemination at any rate of elementary knowledge among the people is borne out by the census figures which show that whereas the number of literate males was only 57 per 1,000 in 1881, it rose to 109 in 1891 and to 150 in 1901, and that the percentage of literate females rose from 1 to 2 and 5 per 1,000 in the same two decades. Nowhere has the progress in this respect been greater than in Orissa, the number of males over 15 years of age in the whole Division who could read and write being 37 per cent. greater than it was 10 years previously. There seems to be little correspondence between these results and the statistics of persons under instruction compiled from the school returns, as, according to the latter, there was a decrease

GENERAL
STATIS-
TICS.

of nearly 10 per cent. in the number of boys under instruction, while the census shows that the male literate population grew most rapidly. It must, however, be remembered that the comparison between the two sets of statistics is apt to be misleading, as the persons under instruction are for the most part under 15, whereas the estimate based on the census figures deals only with persons over that age, so that a change in the number of pupils in one decade would not have much effect until the following one. There are now altogether 21·6 children at school to every thousand of the population, and there is one school to every square mile or to every two villages. The percentage of boys under instruction to the boys of a school-going age is about 40 per cent.; and in this respect Cuttack occupies a high position among Bengal districts.

The inspecting staff consists of a Deputy Inspector of Schools, 10 Sub-Inspectors and 30 Inspecting Pandits, all of whom are subordinate to the Inspector of Schools, Orissa Division. Statistics of the number of institution and scholars during the years 1892-93 to 1901-02 and of the expenditure on education during 1901-02 will be found in the Appendix.

The only college in the district, or indeed in the whole Province of Orissa, is the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack. It was opened as a Zila school in 1841, was constituted a High school in 1868, and was finally raised to the status of a college and affiliated to the University of Calcutta in 1876, when it was given the name of the Ravenshaw College in commemoration of the administration of Mr. Ravenshaw, who was Commissioner of Orissa from 1870 to 1878. A Law department was added in 1871, which was affiliated to the University in 1881; and the College is now composed of three departments—the High school, College and Law department; the number of students on the rolls of the three departments on the 31st March 1905 was 328, 150 and 28 respectively, as compared with 191, 14 and 2 in 1872-73. A Survey school and a Hindu hostel are also attached to the College under the control of the Principal. Instruction is given up to the M.A. standard of the Calcutta University by a staff of lecturers and professors.

The number of High English schools, *i.e.*, schools teaching up to the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, rose from one in 1870-71 to four in 1883-84, and finally to six in 1904-05; during the same three periods the number of scholars attending them increased from 22 to 454 and 1,401 respectively. Of these six schools, four, *viz.*, the Ravenshaw Collegiate school, the Piary Mohan Academy, the Mission High school, and the Town Victoria High school are in the town of Cuttack, and the

COLLE-
GIATE
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TION.
High
English
schools.

remaining two are at the head-quarters stations of the outlying sub-divisions of Jāipur and Kendrapāra. The Ravenshaw Collegiate school, which is, as already mentioned, a department of the Ravenshaw College, is maintained by Government; the Victoria High school is an unaided institution; and the other four are aided by Government under the grant-in-aid rules. The annual cost of the education of each pupil at these schools is Rs. 22-6-2, the cost to the public funds being Rs. 6-9.

The number of Middle English schools, *i.e.*, schools teaching up to the Middle Scholarship examination, in which English forms part of the recognized course of studies, increased from 9 in 1872-73 to 18 in 1884-85 and to 27 in 1904-05. One of these schools, which is a practising institution attached to the Cuttack Training school, is maintained by Government, and 4 Middle schools at Charchikā, Mahāsinghpur, Aśureswar and Kaliānpur are maintained by the District Board. Of the remaining 22 schools, four are aided by the Education Department and 17 by the District Board, the remaining school being an unaided institution at Ganjā, which is supported by the Kanikā estate.

The third class of secondary schools consists of the Middle Vernacular schools, which read up to the Middle scholarship, but in which the vernacular is the only recognized course of studies. Schools of this class have never been numerous in Cuttack. There were 10 Middle Vernacular schools in 1872-73 and 11 in 1883-84, but they decreased to 5 in 1904-05. Here, as elsewhere, the popularity of these schools appears to be on the wane, owing to parents demanding an English education for their children, and the tendency is to transform the Middle Vernacular into Middle English schools.

In 1872-73 there were only 400 children receiving instruction in 17 Primary schools; but the next decade was one of phenomenal growth, the number of these schools increasing to 4,782 in 1883-84, and the number of pupils to 53,013. On the 31st March 1905 there were 3,194 Primary institutions in the district, at which 57,733 pupils were under instruction; of these 55,988 were Hindus, 1,606 were Muhammadans, 59 were Native Christians, and 80 were children of aboriginal descent. The cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 2-11, of which 8 annas represented the share borne by the State. The decrease in the total number of schools which has taken place during the last ten years is to some extent counterbalanced by the increase in the number of children under instruction, but is still very noticeable. Apparently, it is largely due to the disappearance of ephemeral schools under the pressure of competition; small and inefficient institutions have